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American School
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CERTAIN SOURCES OF CORRUPTION IN LATIN
MANUSCRIPTS :

A STUDY BASED UPON TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF LIVY: CODEX
PUTEANUS (FIFTH CENTURY), AND ITS COPY CODEX REGI-
NENSIS 762 (NINTH CENTURY)¹

V. ERRORS OF OMISSION

THE work of the eight scribes is full of omissions. These are for the most part of a trifling nature. The loss is confined chiefly to individual letters, syllables, and small unimportant words. It is rarely that a word of more than one syllable or a group of words has dropped out of the text. These omissions are occasionally the result of intentional emendation, but the majority of them are due to an oversight on the part of the scribe which resulted naturally from the lack of word-division in P. Thus the cause of errors of omission is practically the same as that of the errors illustrated in the two preceding chapters. In the confusion to the eye arising from the unbroken array of letters, it was easy enough for the omission of letters, syllables, and even words to pass unnoticed. The scribes of R never more than half grasped the meaning of the sentence which they were copying by reason of a far from perfect knowledge of Latin combined with the added difficulty caused by the lack of word-division in the uncial model. Consequently the failure of the eye to catch a letter was rarely checked by any feeling for the demands of the sense of the passage.

(1) *Haplography*. — We have seen, in the last chapter, that there was an unconscious tendency on the part of the scribes of

¹ Continued from p. 25.

R to regard a letter which stands at the end of a word, or at the beginning of the next, as going with both (Dittography). The opposite tendency is that of Haplography, the omission of one of two like letters, syllables, or words standing side by side. Omissions of this nature are, in the main, unconscious. Sometimes, however, they are the result of conscious emendation. The scribe imagines the repetition to be due to an error of dittography in the original, and omits one of the pair of letters, syllables, or words which he finds written twice.

(a) Examples of the omission of one of two identical letters standing side by side: XXIII, 37, 2 *quia muros satis* per se altos P, *muro satis* per se altos R. *Muros* is here incorrect in P. The ablative is required. But, that there was no intelligence in the change of *muros* to *muro* in R, is shown by the fact that *altos* is left unchanged. — XXVI, 49, 10 *eis praesentibus suos* restituit P, *praesentibus uos* R. — XXIII, 48, 3 *praetorem . . . misit tuerique . . . iussit* P, *misit uerique* R. — XXVII, 41, 9 *quos ubi . . . consul uidet tribuno militum . . . imperat* P, *cōs uide tr. mil.* R. — XXVI, 38, 9 *quo audacior res erat* P, *quo audaciores erat* R. — XXIII, 38, 8 *ceteri superi infernique* di P, *ceteri super infernique* di R. — A double example of this form of error is to be found in the following: XXIII, 34, 5 *ex ceteris nauibus sagittari* (= sagittarii) funditoresque P, *ex ceteris nauibus agit ari* funditoresque R. — Examples of haplography such as *praerant* (= praeerant), *uium* (= uiuum), *demisi* (= demissi), *clasis* (= classis), *nolent* (= nollent), *adferrent* (= adferrent), *misise* (= misisse), *pasim* (= passim), are quite common in R. But it is difficult to say in any given case whether the omission of one of the double letters within a word is an oversight, or the result of a peculiarity of spelling on the part of a particular scribe.

(b) The same principle operates in the case of the repetition of a syllable, or where two syllables, made up in part of the same letters, stand side by side. The scribe is likely to omit one of them, either through oversight, or intentionally, in the belief that the repetition in P is the result of a dittography

for which the pen of some previous scribe had been responsible. Examples are: XXVIII, 33, 9 *acies esset* P, *aciesset* R. — XXVIII, 25, 2 *gererent* P, *gerent* R. — XXVI, 25, 3 in *pelagioniam eadem celeritate uertit iter* P, *uertiter* R. — XXVI, 28, 2 *legionem inde deduci* posse P, *inde duci* R. — XXVI, 6, 2 *transitum hostibus dedit. ibi, etc., . . .* P, *detibi* R. — XXVI, 33, 12 *qui se dediderunt* P, *qui se dederunt* R.

Repetitions of a word such as are to be found in Plautus and Terence are rare in Livy; consequently there are no examples of the omission of a word through haplography.

(2) The recurrence of the same letter or series of letters in the same line was frequently the cause of the omission of all that was written between them. On glancing back to his uncial original after copying the text as far as the first of the two letters or combination of letters, the scribe's eye often caught sight of the second letter or syllable, and, imagining that this was what he had just written, he went on with his copy from that point, omitting all between. The name usually applied to this variety of omission is *Corruptio ex Homoeoteleuto*. Tyrrell (*Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. II, p. 54) suggests *Paralepsy* as a more convenient name.

(a) Omission of one of two adjacent syllables containing the same vowel; e.g. XXIII, 43, 13 *potiturum* P, *potitum* R. The scribe wrote *potitu* and upon glancing back to the page of P his eye caught sight of the second *u*, which he imagined was the one he had just written. [N.B. In the examples the part omitted in R is given in italics in citing the reading of P].

XXIII, 10, 6 *religiosi* P, *reliosi* R. — XXV, 18, 4 *creuerat consuetudo quod aeger romae . . .* P, *creuerat consuetudo deger romae* R. Here the scribe has omitted the *o* of *quod*, and the letters between it and the last *o* of *consuetudo*. — XXVI, 26, 6 *scire se frequentes* P, *scire sequentis* R. — XXVI, 39, 10 *nauali* P, *nali* R. — XXVI, 40, 14 *ad quadraginta* P, *ad quaginta* R. — XXVIII, 30, 7 *sequeretur* P, *sequetur* R. — XXVIII, 31, 3 *rebellione* P, *rellione* R. — XXVIII, 1, 24 *carthaginienses* P, *carthagienses* P. In the two following exam-

ples it is the first syllable which is omitted instead of the second, XXIII, 48, 4 *scipionibus* P, *spionibus* R. — XXVIII, 35, 4 *masinissam* P, *manissam* R.

(b) Sometimes the omission of a whole word in R is caused by the fact that it ended with the same letter or syllable as the preceding one.

XXIII, 48, 2 *claudiana castra* super sessulam P²; *castra* is omitted in R. — XXVI, 27, 8 *comprehensi ipsi* familiaeque eorum P, *compraehensi* familiae quae eorum R. Here the omission of *ipsi* is due to the passing of the scribe's eye from the *si* of *comprehensi* to that of *ipsi*. — XXVIII, 7, 2 *cum primum aestu fraetum inclinatum* est P², *cum primum aestu fraetum* est R, the omission being due to the similar ending *tum*. — XXVIII, 32, 8 *rerum suarum gestarum* P, *rerum suarum* R, *gestarum* being omitted.

(c) In the two examples which follow, this same tendency is responsible for the omission of several words. In XXVIII, 29, 7 *itaque quod ad uniuersos uos attinet, si erroris paenitet, satis superque poenarum habeo* P. The similarity of ending in *attinet* and *paenitet* has caused the omission of *si erroris paenitet* altogether. Also in XXVIII, 21, 5 *si quis miles aut in urbe restitisset aut secum extulisset* P, the words *aut secum extulisset* have been omitted from the same cause.

(3) The largest class of omissions in R is made up of small unimportant words, such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, and the various forms of the verb *esse*. Lindsay in his *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* has pointed out the importance of recognizing the tendency to omit these monosyllabic words in emending the texts of the Latin poets, where it is often necessary, in order to reduce a line to metrical regularity, to insert some small word, such as those described above. The reasons for the omission of these small words are various. Sometimes the scribes have, perhaps purposely, left them out in the belief that they were unnecessary, sometimes because they did not understand the context; but in the majority of cases these little words, most of which consist of

but two letters, must have been entirely overlooked by reason of the lack of word-division in P.

[For brevity, in citing examples of this variety of omissions I shall give simply the reading of P, printing in italics the words omitted in R.]

(α) *Prepositions*.—The omission of *ab* (*a*) and *in* is especially common. XXII, 30, 9 famam *a* patribus accepissent. — XXIII, 39, 2 productus ad populum *a* magistratibus. — XXVIII, 1, 20 ceteris *ab* hannibale interfectis. — XXVI, 39, 8 ut *ad* componenda armamenta . . . satis temporis esset. — XXII, 41, 5, duas prope partes tironum militum *in* exercitu esse. — XXIII, 5, 9 coniuratio *in* tyranni caput facta. — XXV, 19, 15 ut *in* nulla pari re. — XXVI, 1, 10 ne *in* oppidis hibernarent. — XXVI, 27, 4 qui *in* publicum redempta ac manu missi sunt. — XXVI, 28, 4 urbanae duae superioris anni *in* eturiam . . . mitterentur. — XXVI, 44, 5 trepidatio uero non *in* proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit. Here the cause for the omission seems to have been that *in* was not written with *tota urbe*. — XXVIII, 26, 14 qualem ne *in* acie quidem aiebant meminisse. — XXVIII, 34, 12 sustinere *ultra* nequiere, the scribe apparently not understanding the adverbial use of the preposition.

(b) The conjunctions *et*, *ac*, *aut*, and the enclitic *que* are often omitted, especially when they go in pairs, the scribes regarding one of them as superfluous. XXIII, 46, 9 munitisquae firmatis *et* praesidio. The *et* is probably omitted on account of the presence of *que*. — XXVIII, 20, 5 blanda *et* apulorum aece (= Aecae) oppugnatae. — XXVI, 50, 9 pudore *et* gaudeo. — XXVIII, 24, 6 motae . . . eorum mentes sunt non tum primum . . . sed iam ante licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta *et* non nihil quod in hostico laxius raptu suetis uiuere artiores in pace res erant. — XXVIII, 5, 9 exercitum bolonum (= uolonum) ex *etruria* in galliam traducit, is an interesting example of the same tendency. Here the scribe of R supposed the *et* of Etruria to be the conjunction, and has left it out, writing *bolonum ex ruria*. — An example like the preced-

ing is to be seen in XXVI, 50, 2. Here P has *inter cetera ac* cepit, and the scribe of R, supposing *ac* to be the conjunction, and not seeing any possibility of its being used as such, has left it out and written *inter cetera cepit*. — XXIII, 36, 5 *legionem romanam quae* exposita panormi est. Here the *quae* is omitted probably because it was taken for *que*. — XXIII, 48, 5 *nec aliter aut exercitum aut prouinciam atteneri* (P²) posse.

(c) Examples of the omission of pronouns: XXVIII, 6, 5 *qui . . . regium se* contulerant P, *qui . . . regium* contulerat R. The scribe seems to have regarded *regium* as subject of *contulerat*, and has altered the number in addition to the omission of *se*. — XXIII, 9, 9 *praesenti fabio atque ipso* comitia habente consulatus continuatus. The word *ipso* is here omitted apparently because the scribe did not understand its meaning. — XXIII, 14, 8 *liberatis auctorem ei*s non *se* fore solum. — XXII, 25, 19 *seruili eius* artis. — XXIII, 16, 19 *quam pater eius* in *aventino . . . curauit*.

(d) Omissions of the parts of the verb *esse*, especially of the form *est*, are very common. Examples would probably be superfluous here.

(4) Another cause of omissions was the tendency of the scribes to leave out elements which they did not understand. Where a passage was corrupt in P, not knowing what to do with the corrupt word or words, they sometimes left them out altogether. *E.g.* XXIII, 18, 2 *quae uelut diutinis morbis aegra corpora ex sese* gignunt, *aea* nata bello erant. Here the scribe of R has omitted the corrupt *aea*. — XXIII, 22, 14 *set strictis simul* (corruption of *semel*) *gladis* (= *gladiis*) P. — XXVIII, 27, 10 *nec me uita iuuaret* is the reading of *Luchs*; P has *nec multa* iuuaret; R has omitted the corrupt *multa* altogether. — XXII, 13, 6 *ab suo itinere Luchs; ad sue* itinere P, *a* itinere R.

Sometimes the scribes of R, coming upon an unusual or unfamiliar word, or upon something which in their opinion interfered with the construction of the sentence, left out a

syllable or a word so as to reduce the unknown element to the known. *E.g.* XXIII, 16, 2 *primo antesignani poenorum, dein signa perturbata* P ; the scribe of R, not being familiar with the word *antesignani*, omitted the *ni*, writing *primo ante signa poenorum*, etc. — XXIII, 37, 9 *praesidio decedere apud romanos capital esse* P ; the same scribe (Fredeŕ) in R has left off the *l*, and written *apud romanos capita esse*. — XXVI, 36, 3 *pro uirili parte* P, *pro uiri parte* R ; the scribe in dividing the words first saw *uiri* and *parte* and not knowing what to do with the two additional letters left them out. — XXVIII, 4, 1 *animos rursus terror instans revocauit* P, *animos rursus terror instare uocauit* R ; this error seems to be due in the first place to a mental word-division of *instansre uocauit*, and the scribe, supposing *instansre* was meant for the infinitive, omitted the *ns* and wrote *instare*. — XXV, 15, 6 *itaque metapontini* P, *itaque etapontini* R ; the omission of the *m* was apparently due to a wrong mental word-division ; *itaquem* not being intelligible, it was amended to *itaque*.

Two varieties of errors of omission are treated in other chapters to which they more properly belong : Substitutions such as *aetatis* for *aestatis*, *temporum* for *templorum*, etc., are given in Chapter VII, and the omission of abbreviations in Chapter IX. It is impossible, of course, to account for all of the omissions which occur in R ; most of them admit of being grouped under the heads given above, but there still remain omissions which had no apparent reasons or starting-point, and which must be set down as accidents pure and simple.

R exhibits no omissions of any great length. The longest consist, at the most, of not more than three words.

VI. CONFUSION OF LETTERS (IN UNCIAL WRITING)

Another source of error was the tendency on the part of the scribes of R to confuse some of the letters of P, and to write one in the place of another. This species of error is not entirely due to similarity of the letters, but is encouraged to a consider-

able extent by the lack of word-division in P, which, as in the preceding chapters, is again partly responsible for scribal errors. Certain uncial letters possess in common an element of likeness sufficient to make it possible for the form of one letter to *suggest* the other; and the illusion, since it is not checked by any grouping of the letters into words, often finds corroboration in possible word-divisions other than those intended by Livy.

The letters liable to confusion in uncial writing of the fifth century may be arranged in groups, on the basis of some common element of similarity among them; and in classifying the examples it has seemed best to make this the basis, rather than to follow the alphabetical order. These groups are (1) the letters **l l l** (*ILT*), (2) **c e c o u** (*CEGOU*), (3) **b r p f k** (*BRPFK*), and (4) a few individual letters outside of these groups.¹

The errors in each group are not evenly distributed over the work of all the eight scribes of R. Aldo, for instance, is prone to the confusion of **l l l** (*ILT*) to a much greater extent than the rest of the scribes, and the majority of the confusions of the curved letters **c e c o** (*CEGO*) are made by the scribes Fredeġ and Nauto. I have therefore indicated in parentheses, after each error, the name of the scribe by whom it was made, as follows: (G.) = Gislarius, (Ald.) = Aldo, (F.) = Fredeġ, (N.) = Nauto, (Theog.) = Theogrimnus, (Theod.) = Theodegrimnus, (Ans.) = Ansoaldus, (L.) = Landemarus. During a visit to Paris, in 1896, I made a study of the *Puteanus*, with regard to the form of the letters confused by the scribes of R in the greater number of the examples given in the following lists. It was thus possible to see in each case exactly how the error was made; and

¹ I have here attempted to reproduce the normal forms of the uncial letters which were confused by the scribes of R. Confusion is, however, often encouraged, not so much by the normal form of a letter, as by some variation in it. It is also sometimes caused by the illusion which a given letter creates when taken in conjunction with certain other letters. In such cases the possibilities of confusion will be seen to better advantage by consulting the facsimile of the *Puteanus* on p. 165 (Fig. 1).

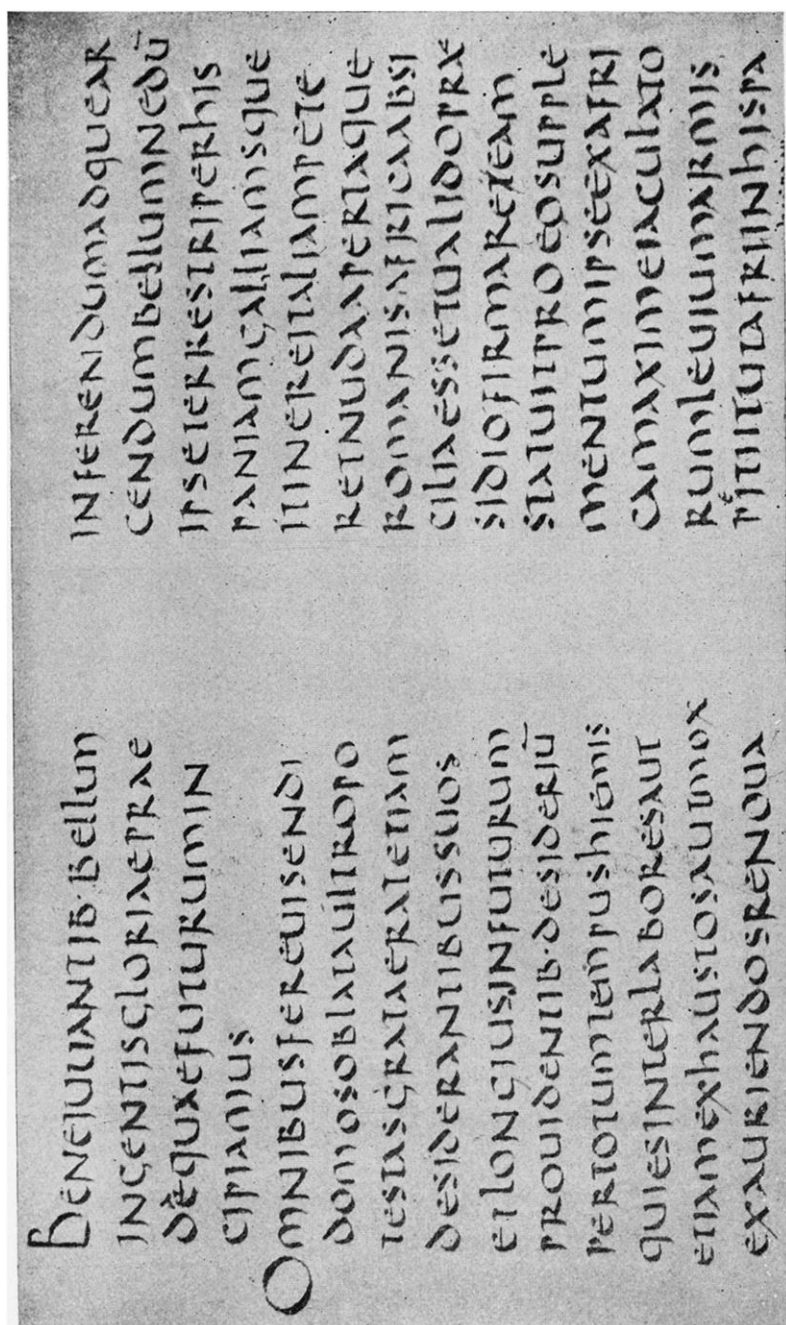


FIGURE 1.—CODEX PUTEANUS: FACSIMILE OF THE UPPER PART OF A FOLIO (LIVY, XXI, 21, 6 seqq.).

in consequence I have omitted a few cases of apparent confusion of letters which might be attributed to peculiarities of spelling on the part of the individual scribe. In the lists of examples I have given only the original error of the scribe, omitting the corrections afterwards made by the scribe himself or correctors.

(1) *Confusion of the Letters* } } **l** (*IL T*).—In each of the letters of this group the characteristic element is the vertical stroke. The horizontal strokes at the top of **l** and at the bottom of **l** are short, and not very marked; consequently there is little to distinguish the letters. Confusions in this group form the largest class of errors of this sort, and are especially common in the work of the scribes Aldo and Theodegrimmus.

l } (*IL*). XXII, 12, 4 uulo P¹, uſlo P², uſlo R. The letter *l*, which was written above the second *u* of P as a correction, was mistaken for *i* (Ald.).—XXVIII, 38, 4 aediles pl. essent P, aediles pſ. essent R (L.).—Where *i* is initial, owing to the fact that in Caroline minuscule writing initial *i* is often almost undistinguishable from *l*, it is sometimes scarcely possible to tell whether the scribes of R intended to write an *i* or an *l*, *e.g.* whether R has in XXII, 39, 7 lactando or iactando (Ald.), and in XXII, 27, 4 ludicio or iudicio (Ald.).

(*LI*). XXII, 60, 11 calpurnius P, cal purnius R (Ald.).—XXIII, 9, 9 conspectitur P¹, conplectitur P²; the scribe Aldo misunderstood the correction in P, and, mistaking for an *i* the *l* placed above the P, wrote coniectitur.—XXIII, 14, 5 notalum P¹, noſanum P², noianum R (Ald.).—XXVI, 38, 13 ad uſtumum P, ad uſtumum R (Theod.).

l } (*IT*). XXIII, 12, 11 iactauit P; tactauit was first written in R (Ald.).—XXII, 60, 23 uſrib. (= uiribus) P, utrib. R (Ald.).—XXVI, 39, 11 ui ac uirtute P, ut ac uirtute R (Theod.).—XXIV, 20, 15 heraclensi

(= Heracleensi) iam P; heraclestiam was first written in R (F.).—XXVI, 51, 4 quinto iterum P; quintot was first written in R, then *t* erased and iterum written after the erasure (Theod.).

(*TI*). XXVI, 41, 6 ut ultro P, ui ultro R (Theod.).—XXII, 30, 7 utro P, uiro R (Ald.).—XXVI, 39, 12 ex utraque P, ex uiraque R (Theod.).—XXVI, 3, 2 pugna ut P, pugnaui R (Theod.).—XXVI, 35, 10 tuta P, iuta R (Theod.).—XXVI, 30, 3 factam P, faciam R (Theod.).—XXIII, 20, 14–15 mouit tum P, mouitium R (F.).—XXIII, 3, 6 strenum (= strenuum) P, sirenum R (Ald.).—XXIII, 11, 4 ture ac uino P, iure ac uino R (Ald.).

l (*LT*). XXII, 38, 13 celeribus P, ceteribus R (Ald.).—XXVIII, 14, 3 iunonis sospitae lanuui P, iunonis sospitae tanuui R (L.).—XXIII, 15, 5 nolam P, notam R (Ald.). With this compare the example given already under confusions of *L* and *I*, *noianum* for *nolanum*, XXIII, 14, 5.

(*TL*). XXIII, 19, 5 cū cetero exercitu P, cū celero exercitu R (F.). With this example compare *ceteribus* for *celeribus* in the preceding class.—XXV, 18, 1 teriti P, teriili was first written in R (N.).—XXII, 30, 8 itala corrected to italia P¹; ilalia was first written by Aldo.

In the following examples there is a double confusion of *LT* and *TI*, and of *TI* and *IT*: XXII, 22, 14 uolt P, uoti R (Ald.).—XXV, 19, 5 reductique P, reducitque R (N.).

In Heraeus (*Quaestiones Criticae et Palaeographicae de Vetustissimis Codicibus Livianis*) will be found numerous examples of the confusion of pairs of these letters with *U*. Of this confusion I have found in R but one tolerably certain example, the confusion of *IL* and *U*. XXIII, 7, 12 m̄. aemilium regillum P, m̄. aemilium regulum R (F.). The reason for the scarcity of examples of this form of confusion in R is due to the fact that the left-hand stroke of the letter *u* in P is gen-

erally curved thus, **U**, and where *u* is confused with other letters it is with those in the *CEGO* group.

There are rare examples to be found in R of the confusion of the letters *ITL* with other letters. For instance, the letters *P* and *F*, when the loop of the one and the horizontal strokes of the other are small and light, may be mistaken for *I* in hasty reading.

f **j** (*FI*). XXIII, 7, 9 *factum* P, *iactum* R (Ald.).

p **j** (*PI*). XXIII, 43, 5 *muneribus amplis* P, *muneribus amilis* R (F.).

c **l** (*CT*). An example of a possible confusion of *C* and *T* is the following: XXIII, 13, 5 *dicā* P, *ditam* R (Ald.), though there is really little similarity between the letters.

c **l** (*CL*). *C* is written in the place of *L* in the following example: XXIII, 3, 6 *locum* P, *cocū* corrected to *locū* R (Ald.); but this is probably due to the fact that the scribe began to write the second syllable first, an error which has happened before in the case of this scribe, e.g. XXII, 60, 21 *incolumitate* P², in *locumitate* R.

(2) *Confusion of the Letters C E G O U* (*CEGOU*).—The element of similarity among these five letters is that, in uncial writing, *CEG* and the left-hand stroke of the *U* were formed by the arc of a circle, while *O*, though a circle, was usually made in two strokes, the left-hand stroke being usually heavier than the right. Each of these letters, then, contains a curve, the convex part of which is turned toward the left, and, if the other strokes are light or indistinct, confusion is an easy matter. A letter which might belong to this group is **δ** (*D*),¹ which is capable of being confused with *O*, but I have found no example of this confusion in the work of the scribes of R.

¹ Examples of the confusion of **δ** and **ο** are given by Lindsay (*Lat. Text. Emend.* p. 103), Heraeus (*de Vet. Cod. Liv.* p. 103).

CE (*CE*). Here confusion is very common; the only difference between the letters is the horizontal stroke of the *E*, which was usually written quite high. Examples: XXV, 12, 14 in *circo maximo* P, in *circo maximo* R (N.).—XXV, 16, 17 id *cohonestent* P, *ideo honestent* R (N.).—XXV, 17, 6 memorant *credere* P; memorante was first written by Nauto, who first mistook the *c* for an *e*.—XXIII, 43, 13 *capuae ac* P; *capuae ae* was first written in R (F.).

EC (*EC*). XXIII, 47, 1 *liceretne extra* P, *liceret necextra* R (F.).

CG (*CG*). The confusion between these two letters is particularly easy. The only difference between them is the slight curve downward at the lower end of the stroke in the case of *G*. Examples: XXIII, 5, 13 *ex afri|ca* et a *carthagine* P; *ex afriga* was first written in R (Ald.).—XXV, 12, 10 *graeco ritu* P, *graegoritu* R (N.).—XXVIII, 23, 8 *foedere cum populo* P, *foede regum populo* R (L.).

GC (*GC*). XXII, 11, 4 *dimigrarent* (= *demigrarent*) P, *dimicrarent* R (G.).—XXIII, 3, 9 *datae igitur* P², *data eicitur* R (Ald.).—XXIII, 7, 7 *negasset se iturum* P, *necasset se iturum* R (Ald.).—XXII, 22, 9 *adgreditur castra Luchs*, *adgredituricastra* P, *adereditu|ricastra* R (Ald.).—XXVI, 6, 1 *coepit Luchs*, *coegit* P, *coecit* R (Theog.).—XXVI, 3, 4 *non ag|mine inexplorato* P, *non ac mine inexplorato* R (Theog.).—XXVIII, 7, 10 *agmen suorum* P, *ac mensuorum* R (L.).

EO (*EO*). This confusion is not recognized by either Lindsay or Heraeus. The examples given below show that such a confusion was possible; and indeed there is considerable similarity in the letters, if *O* is made with the heavier stroke on the left curve of the letter, and the horizontal stroke of the *E* is written high or is somewhat faint.

Examples: XXVI, 50, 4 *iuuenis*, *inquit*, *iuuenem* *appello* P, *iuuenis inquit iuuenem apollo* R̄ (Theod.). — XXIII, 3, 14 *cum permissu hannonis arcem intrassent* *Luchs*; P has for the last two words *arcem inistrassent*, and *arcom inistrassent* was first written in R (F.). — XXIII, 8, 9 *deceat* P, *doceat* R (F.). — XXV, 21, 2 *ferociter* P, *forociter* R (N.). — XXIII, 20, 16 *greges maxime abacti* P, *greges maximo abacti* R (F.).

(*O E*). Examples of the opposite confusion are: XXIII, 9, 10 *tuam | doleo uicem* P, *tuam deleo uicem* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 42, 2 *poterant* P, *peterant* R (F.). — XXVI, 6, 1 *in ipso | uallo conficiunt* P, *in ipse uallo conficiunt* R (Theog.).

OU (*OU*). In the case of the substitution of one of these letters for the other, it is often extremely hard to decide whether the confusion is due to peculiarities of spelling and pronunciation on the part of the individual scribe, or is really a confusion of the form of the letters. Thus *furtuna* (= *fortuna*), *uicture* (= *uictore*), *incolomi* (= *incolumi*), *luxoria* (= *luxuria*), *expugnatoros* (= *expugnatueros*), *syracosanos*, *sicolorum*, are probably due to individual habits of spelling and pronunciation. There are cases, however, where the change of letter makes a change of sense, and the errors are therefore to be attributed rather to a confusion of the form of the letters than of the sound.

Examples: XXIII, 5, 12 *docendo* P, *ducendo* R (Ald.). — XXVIII, 29, 11 *adeo torpentibus qui ade-rant* P, *adeotur pentib; qui adorant* R¹ (Ans.). Here the confusion is double, that of *O U* and of *E O*. — XXIII, 19, 6 *tolerantes* P, *tulerantes* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 40, 8 *populatione* P, *pupulatione* R¹.

(*U O*). XXII, 12, 8 *ducebat* P, *docebat* R (G.). — XXII, 60, 10 *in tata loca* P, *in tota loca* R (Ald.). — XXVI,

37, 5 imperium P; imperiom was first written in R (Ald.). This is probably not a case of archaizing the spelling, for the reason that such forms ending in *om* which occur in P are regularly changed to *um* by the scribes of R.—XXVI, 16, 12 murosque P, moros que R (Theod.).—XXVI, 16, 6 muris P, moris R (Theod.).

To the similarity of these two letters must be ascribed, in part at least, the writing of the accusative plural masculine instead of the nominative singular (and *vice versa*), in words of the second declension, where there is nothing in the structure of the sentence or in the sense of the passage to warrant the error.¹ Examples: XXIII, 19, 18 subiectus P, subiectos R (Ald.).—XXIII, 20, 5 legatos P, legatus R (Ald.).—XXVI, 5, 14 interclusos P, interclusus R (Theog.).—XXVI, 40, 8 romanos P, romanus R (L.).—XXIII, 12, 2, infensos P, infensus R (F.).

In the following examples of very exceptional confusions in this group I shall give more of the context, for the reason that there is but one example of each.

Œu (*GU*). XXIII, 7, 9 ab universis id non oboedienter modo sed enixae (= enixe) fauore etiam uolgi et studio uisendi tot iam uictoriis clarum imperatorem factum est P. Here, where P has uolgi, R has uolui. There is nothing in the context to suggest uolui, and it must be regarded as an example of confusion of letters.

Eu (*EU*). XXII, 60, 25 cum aciae (in acie *Luchs*) stare ac pugnare decuerit P; here R has ducuerit. The error may possibly have been encouraged by the occurrence of *u* in the next syllable.

¹ Examples of confusion of these case-endings, due to a mistaken idea of the syntax of the sentence, will be found in the chapter on Errors of Emendation.

CU (*CU*). XXVIII, 18, 1 unum est, de quo nominatim et nos quaeri (= queri) religio infixā animos (animis *Luchs*) cogat, etc., P; here R has *uocat*, which involves a double confusion, namely, of *CU* and *GC*.

(3) *Confusion of the Letters* **BSRFK** (*BPRFK*).—These letters are all formed by means of a vertical stroke with loops (as in *BPR*) or straight lines (as in *FK*) drawn to the right. If these lines to the right are lightly made, the letters may sometimes be confused in rapid reading, though not so readily as the letters in the two preceding groups.

BS (*BP*). These two letters were also sometimes confused in pronunciation. It is therefore difficult to be certain, in a given instance, whether the substitution of one for the other is due to that cause or to confusion of form in cases in which *P* is followed closely by some other letter which helps the illusion. Examples: XXII, 28, 9 *pellendos* P, *bellendos* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 12, 6 *bar|cinae* P, *parcinae* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 18, 12 *blandi|us* P, *plandius* R (Ald.). In this example and the preceding one the words in P were divided by the end of a line. It is therefore hardly probable that the error is the result of wrong mental pronunciation, which would have been checked by the break in the words. — XXV, 11, 1 *rupib*; P, *rubib*: R (N.).

BR (*BR*). XXII, 9, 2 *temptate uirib*; P, *temptate quib*; was first written in R, the *r* being taken for a *b* and the *q* unconsciously inserted (G.).

FP (*FP*). XXVI, 6, 6 *defen|di* P, *dependi* R (Theog.).

FR (*FR*). This confusion is made possible where the letter following *F* is one of the curved letters. XXIII, 17, 5 *adfuere* P, *adruere* R (F.).

PR (*PR*). This confusion, also, is made possible where the letter following *P* is one of the curved letters *CEGOU*.

XXV, 13, 7 apparatu *pe|*tendum P, apparaturae tendum R (N.).

(*R P*). Of the converse of this form of error there are no examples of whole words, but in the following examples *p* was written for *r* and immediately erased: XXIII, 9, 13 minus *res* P; after minus the scribe Aldo wrote a *p* and then erased it. — XXIV, 33, 9 terrore P; the first four letters written by the scribe of R were *terp* (F.).

R K (*R K*). XXVIII, 12, 8 epiroe (Epirotae *Luchs*) P, epi Koe R (L.).

(4) *Other Letters liable to Confusion.*

X X (*A X*). The only sure example of this confusion is XXVIII, 3, 11 patienda *ea* robore P, patienda *ex* robore R (L.).

R N (*R N*). When *R* is written close to the next letter and has the loop at the top very small (under which circumstances *RI* might sometimes suggest *N*), it is possible to mistake *R* for *N*, *e.g.* XXVI, 5, 5 terrore P, terrone R (Theog.).

S G (*S G*). XXVIII, 19, 12 syracusarum P², syracugarum R (L.). A similar example is to be found in P which in XXIII, 39, 3 had *cos non* for *cognomen*.

P S (*P S*). The letter *P*, when the loop is large and not closed, sometimes bears a slight resemblance to an *S*, *e.g.* XXIII, 17, 2 publica P, sublica R (Ald.).

IN M (*IN, M*). XXVIII, 30, 2 *deinde* P, *demde* R (Ans.). — XXVIII, 30, 10 *intorta in* proram P, *intortam* proram R (Ans.). This confusion is probably due not to any similarity between *IN* and *M* in uncial writing, but the **M** unconsciously suggests the *IN* of the Caroline times.

The following confusions, represented in the above examples, are not given in the lists of confusions in Lindsay's *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* or Heraeus's *Quaestiones Criticae et Palaeographicae*: *FI*; *PI*; *CL*; *EO*; *OU*; *GU*; *EU*; *CU*; *BP*; *FR*; *RK*; *RN*; *PS*; *IN*, *M*. Of these the confusion of *EO* is represented by eight examples; that of *OU*, by five; that of *BP*, by two that are fairly certain; and that of *IN*, *M*, by two. The others are represented by but a single example each. With the exception of *CL* they are all undoubtedly *bona fide* confusions.

On the other hand, the combined lists of Heraeus and Lindsay contain the following confusions not represented in the above examples: *AD*; *B*, *IS*; *CO*; *DO*; *DS*; *FS*; *FP*; *GE*; *GO*; *H* with *N*, *LI*, *EI*, *EL*; *M* with *N*, *NI*, *NT*; *U* with *IT*, *TI*, *CI*.

VII. CONFUSION OF SIMILAR WORDS

When one is reading rapidly, even a well-printed book, it is not an uncommon thing unconsciously to substitute one of two similar words for the other, *e.g.* *statue*, *statute*. The letters of a word present themselves not individually, but as a group. When two words differ from each other merely by a letter or two, it is very easy, unless one is reading carefully, for one group of letters to suggest the other.

Naturally, in copying a manuscript such as P, the tendency to confuse similar words was greatly increased by the lack of word-division. In printed books, and in manuscripts in which the words are divided, the separation of the words leaves comparatively little chance for errors of the eye. In copying the continuously written text, on the other hand, the grouping of the letters had to be done entirely by the copyist. The work of the scribes of R was, moreover, almost mechanical, and they but rarely grasped the meaning of a sentence as a whole. There was, therefore, little to check these frequent illusions of the eye or to call the scribe's attention to the error after it was

made. Consequently the unconscious substitution of one word for another is one of the more common forms of error in their work.

In the following list of examples I have given only such substitutions of similar words as seem to be unconscious or accidental. Intentional substitutions will be treated in the Chapter on Conscious Emendation; confusions due to habits of spelling and pronunciation will be treated of in the Chapter on Errors of Spelling; and substitutions, such as *uiro* for *utro*, have been given in the preceding Chapter on Confusion of Letters.

Examples of confusion of similar words: XXIII, 48, 4 exitus (exitu *Luchs*) *aestatis* eius P, *aetatis* R. — XXIII, 42, 5 ita sumus aliquotiens hac *aestate* deuastati P, *aetate* R¹. — XXVIII, 37, 7 ei *aetas* in medio uirum robore P, *aestas* R. — XXVI, 29, 2 et *extemplo* oculos hominum conuerterint P, *exemplo* R. — XXIII, 14, 9 pugnam poscebant, signumque ut daret *extemplo* P, *exemplo* R. — XXII, 32, 6 auri . . . ad *templorum* ornatum P, *temporum* R. — XXV, 12, 7 nam mihi ita iuppiter *fatus* est P, *factus* R. — XXV, 16, 4 nulla tamen prouidentia *fatum* imminens moueri potuit P, *factum* R. — XXV, 39, 14 ualerius antias una castra magonis *capta* tradidit (tradit *Luchs*) P, *capita* R. — XXVI, 35, 6 equi ornamenta et *libras* pondo P, *liberas* R. — XXVI, 37, 8 quo *propius* spe (spem *Luchs*) uenerant P, *proprius* R. This error was copied into M. — XXVI, 40, 8 *ubi* primum hostium agmen conspexisset P, *urbi* R. — XXVIII, 23, 5 *ferro* ignique P, *ferre* R. — XXVI, 41, 6 id *parem* (paremus *Luchs*) atque agamus P, *patrem* R. This error was copied into M. — XXVI, 41, 12 siciliae maioris *partis* P, *patris* was first written in R. — XXVI, 28, 6 capua prouincia *decreta* P, *decreata* R. — XXVI, 34, 2 *operae* praetium (pretium) est omnia enumerare P, *opere* R. This may, of course, be due to spelling. — XXVIII, 24, 12 reprehendere adque *improbare* P, *improbrare* R. — XXIII, 45, 6 arma signaque eadem se *noscere* P; *nocere* was first written in R. — XXII, 39, 20 omnia *audentem* con-

temnet P, *audientem* R. — XXII, 25, 8 tamquam hostibus captivius arma *adempta* P, *adepta* R. — XXII, 18, 7 dictator in larinati agro castra *communiit* P, *commonuit* R. — XXVII, 41, 10 ut sterni *opterique*, priusquam instruantur, possint P, *optineri quae* R¹. — XXVI, 51, 3 ipse paucos dies . . . *exercendis* naualibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit P, *exarcendis* R. — XXVII, 42, 1 itaque *excitus tumultu* P, *exercitus tumultum* R. — XXV, 13, 7 que (= quae) *mutas* accenderet bestias P, *multas* R. — XXVI, 2, 3 melius uisum differri eam *consultationem* P, *consulationem* R. The error is repeated, three lines farther on, where P had *consultationi* and R *consulatione*. — XXVIII, 16, 7 *rogare* P, *rogate* R¹. — XXVI, 36, 3 plus quam pro uirile parte sibi quemque capere *principum* uident P, *principium* R. — XXIII, 46, 6 ad marcellum *transfugerunt* P, *transfuerunt* R. — XXIII, 40, 7 *manlius* P, *manilius* R. — XXIII, 37, 5 ut eo die *obsesso* quam obsidenti similior esset poenus P, *obsessio* R. — XXVI, 39, 22 paucos ex multis *incidentis* semiapertis portarum foribus P, *incedentis* R. — XXV, 13, 7 paulo plus quadringenta uehicula *missa et* pauca praeterea iumenta P, *missa est* R. — XXII, 34, 2 *quem* sui generis hominem P, *quam* R. — XXVI, 49, 16 *ne* in malis P, *nec* R. — XXVI, 42, 1 *ad* hostem P, *ab* hostem R. — XXV, 39, 9 *ab* recenti pugna P, *ad* R. This error was copied into M. The confusion of these two prepositions, *ab* and *ad*, is very common.

Examples of the substitution of one group of words for another have been already given in Chapter III.

VIII. CORRUPTIONS ARISING FROM MISTAKING THE NUMERAL SIGNS¹

Bede, in speaking of the work of the scribes of his own day, made the following complaint: "numeri . . . negligenter describuntur et negligentius emendantur" (*Opp.* 1, 149). The fre-

¹ The material contained in this chapter formed the subject of a paper read before the American Philological Association at the meeting held in Schenectady in 1902, and published in vol. XXXIII of the *Transactions* of that Association.

quent occurrence in manuscripts of the ninth century, or later, of numerical records which are evidently corrupt seems to indicate that his complaint was not without foundation. Inasmuch as the scriptorium of Tours may be taken as typical of the scriptoria of western Europe in the ninth century, it is of interest to see how the numbers in Livy's history, as given in P, fared in the hands of the monk-copyists of R. A comparison of the readings of the two manuscripts makes it possible to examine in detail the errors made by the scribes of R, and to see exactly in each case the reason for the error.

Even the complaint of Bede hardly prepares one for the extensive corruption of numbers which took place in this one process of transcription. My study of R, as I have already said, covered about one-half of the portion copied by each scribe, an amount equal to about half of the third decade. Within this compass there were, in all, thirty-two cases of corruption involving numbers; and were it not for the fact that in P many of the numbers are not represented by symbols, but are expressed in full, corruptions of this nature would have been much more numerous. These corruptions are due not so much to carelessness on the part of the scribes, as might be inferred from the complaint of Bede, as to ignorance of certain of the numerical signs and methods of notation which, although in vogue in the fifth century, had in the ninth become partially obsolete. The real carelessness of the scribe consisted in attempting to render in the notation of his own day the symbols which he did not understand. Fortunately, the more difficult symbols for the higher numbers, such as ⷀ , ⷁ , do not occur in P, and the scribes' difficulties were confined to the symbols for 1000 and those of lesser denominations.

(1) In P the sign regularly used for 1000 is ∞ . This symbol seems to have been entirely unfamiliar to the scribes of the early ninth century, and to this cause is due fully one-half of the numeral corruptions in the following list. The possibility of error might have been avoided by copying the symbol as it stood, but four of the scribes—Aldo, Fredegaudus,

Ansoaldus, and Landemarus—made the absurd blunder of supposing that ∞ , from its form, must stand for x, even where the context showed that 10 was entirely too small a number. For instance, the scribe Fredegaudus, in XXIII, 37, 6, has transcribed correctly enough the number ∞ccc , but only a page or two later, meeting with the symbol ∞ again (in XXIII, 40, 2), he imagined that he now knew what it meant, and wrote, instead of the $\infty\overline{\text{cc}}$ which he found in P, the number $x\overline{\text{cc}}$. If he had exercised a moment's thought, he might have seen that it was not at all likely that ∞ was the symbol for 10, inasmuch as it was followed by $\overline{\text{cc}}$; yet he continued to make the same mistake throughout his quota of the work, though once, being in doubt, he left a blank to be filled in by the corrector. Other examples of his treatment of the symbol are:

XXIII, 40, 4 ad $\infty\infty$ sardorum eo proelio caesa P. Here Fredegaudus first wrote xxx; then, feeling that 30 was too small a number, he drew a horizontal stroke above it, thus, $\overline{\text{xxx}}$. In this way the original 3000 becomes first 30 and then 30,000.

XXIII, 49, 11 paulo minus ∞ equorum P. In R a corrector has written ∞ in an erasure of what was probably x.

XXIII, 40, 5 $\overline{\text{m}}$ ualerius $\infty\infty$ praesidioque P. Here the scribe left a blank space, in which the numeral was written by a corrector.

XXIII, 40, 8 facturum se que (= quae) uellent pollicitus, $\infty\infty$ delectorum militum navibus longis mittit P. The number as it now stands in R is ∞ *delectorum militum*, but the ∞ is written by a corrector in an erasure of what was probably xx. It is to be noted that the correction is also wrong, and that the scribe has returned to writing x for ∞ .

The above examples from the work of Fredegaudus I have given first, not because his errors in this regard are the most numerous, but because they show four different stages in his treatment of the symbol: (1) he does not know what it means, but copies it as it stands in P; (2) he becomes convinced that it stands for x, and writes it accordingly; (3) he begins to

doubt his previous conviction, and leaves a blank; (4) he resumes once more the writing of x. Examples of this error from the portions copied by the other scribes are:

XXVII, 38, 11 equitum ∞ P. This the scribe of R copied correctly, but, having changed his mind, he erased the ∞ and wrote x in its place.

XXVII, 38, 12 et sagittariorum funditorumque ad $\infty\infty\infty$ P, et sagittariorum funditorumque xxx R. This a corrector has altered to $\overline{\infty\infty\infty}$.

XXVII, 43, 11 sex millia peditum ∞ equites P, sex millia peditum x equites R.

XXVIII, 2, 4 erant in celtibero exercitu $\infty\infty\infty$ scutata P, erant in celtibero exercitu xxxx scuta R.

XXVIII, 34, 2 uulnerata amplius $\infty\infty\infty$ hominum P, uulnerata amplius xxx hominum R. In this and in other cases the genitive after the numeral does not seem to have troubled the scribe.

XXVIII, 36, 9 supra $\infty\infty\infty$ armatorum P, supra xxxx armatorum R.

XXII, 41, 2 ad ∞ et dcc caesi P. A corrector in R has written *m* over an erasure of what was probably x.

XXII, 7, 3 is a possible example of this confusion. P has $\infty\infty$ hostium in acie periere. In R there is an erasure before *D*, in which a late corrector has written *m*. The erased letters were probably xx, as the work of this scribe, Aldo, shows other instances of this confusion. There is a possibility, however, that the letters were $\infty\infty$, and that this correction was a deliberate one, made with the purpose of bringing Livy into harmony with Polybius, who gives 1500 as the number.

In the two examples which follow, as well as in the second example from the work of Fredegaudus, this confusion of x and ∞ is responsible for a further increment of corruption.

XXVII, 40, 11 ad $\infty\infty\infty\infty$ hominum P, ad *triginta milium* hominum R. Here the scribe has made a triple error. He interpreted the $\infty\infty\infty\infty$ as xxxx. Then, being in the habit of writing XL for 40, he supposed that the fourth ∞ was a

scribal error and that 30 was the number. Feeling that the passage required a larger number than 30, he wrote *ad triginta milium hominum*, and the 4000 of Livy has become 30,000.

XXIII, 13, 7 ut hannibali $\infty\infty|\infty\infty$ numidarum in supplementum mitterentur. R has XL numidarum. The scribe supposed that the number was XXXX, and was in the habit of writing XL for 40. As in the preceding example, the clue for emendation is practically lost.

(2) The symbol for 1000 with which the scribes were familiar was M. Consequently the scribes Theogrimmus and Theodegrimmus sometimes write *mille* for M., the abbreviation for *Marcus*, and a number is thereby created where none had existed.

XXVI, 21, 13 id \overline{m} cornelio mandatum P, id *mille* cornelio mandatum R. To the scribe, if he took the trouble to translate, this must have meant, "This thousand was entrusted to Cornelius."

XXVI, 21, 17 inter has difficultates m cornelius PR (= praetor) et militum animos, etc. P, inter has difficultates *mille* cornelius populus romanus et militum animos R. That the scribe had little idea of the sense is shown by *populus Romanus*; but if he concerned himself with the meaning at all, he must have taken it to mean something like this: "amid these thousand difficulties."

XXVI, 22, 12 duobus plenis iam honorum que fabio et \overline{m} marcello P, que fabio et *mille* marcello R.

XXVI, 21, 5 ut \overline{m} . marco marcello (marco marcello P², deleting \overline{m} .) quo die urbe ouans iniret, imperium esset P, *mille* marco marcello R. The scribe has not only produced an utter absurdity, but has gone out of his way to do so by disregarding the correction in P.

XXVI, 40, 10 ad p. tolomaeum (= ad Ptolomaeum) et cleopatram reges \overline{m} atilius et \overline{m} acilius legati P, ad populum tolo-maeum et cleopatram reges \overline{m} atilius et milia acilius legati R.

Here the scribe arbitrarily left one $\overline{\text{m}}$ as it was and wrote *milia* for the other.

These errors were all corrected while P was still accessible, and are so absurd that, if P had been lost altogether, they would, if not carried further, have presented no difficulty whatever to a modern critic. But these blunders would surely have grown in passing through the hands of later copyists, to whom it would be a great temptation, on finding these numbers standing alone, to add a noun to indicate the thing numbered.

(3) The symbol D , for 500, also gave rise to an important class of corruptions in R. In order to distinguish the numeral sign from the letter D , a stroke is regularly drawn through it in P. Unfortunately an oblique stroke was drawn in the same way, by the correctors in P, through letters which they wished to delete; and some of the scribes of R, supposing that this was the purpose of the oblique stroke through the D , have omitted the symbol for 500 altogether.¹

XXIII, 16, 15 $\overline{\text{II}}$ et DCCC hostium caesos non plus D romanorum amississet (amissis et *Luchs*) P, $\overline{\text{II}}$ et CCC hostium caesos non plus romanorum amisisset R. The number of the enemy's killed has thus decreased from 2800 to 2300, and the number of the Roman dead has disappeared entirely.

XXIII, 19, 17 ex DLXX qui in praesidio fuerunt P, ex LXX qui in praesidio fuerunt R; a reduction from 570 to 70. The scribe added the D at a later time.

XXIII, 17, 8 casilinum eo tempore D praenestini habebant P. D was omitted by Aldo, and R first read *casilinum eo tempore praenestini* habebant, though the D was inserted at a later time.

XXVII, 41, 8 circa D romanorum sociorumque uictores ceciderunt P. The number is omitted in R.

The scribe Fredegaudus seems to have regarded this as a

¹ Even as early as the copying of P, in the fifth or sixth century, the omission of D was not unusual, as is shown by its occasional omission in P.

blunder to be carefully guarded against, and in XXIII, 43, 8, where P has *nolandos*, — which was corrected to *nolanos* by P², by drawing a line through the **Đ** (thus, NOLAN**Đ**OS), — this scribe wrote *nolan**Đ**os*, probably because he had been cautioned against omitting the symbol. This precaution shows how great a tendency there was to errors of this kind.

(4) Another source of error in connection with the numerals was the difference in practice in the fifth century and in the ninth with regard to the manner of writing 40. In P it is regularly written XXXX. In the ninth century the form XL seems to have been the more familiar form. Consequently there is a slight tendency among the scribes of R to suppose that XXXX is a mistake, and that XXX is the number intended. Thus, in XXVII, 40, 11, the scribe in R wrote XXX for ∞∞∞∞, supposing that ∞ was x.

In XXVII, 8, 13, quattuor milia CCCXXXIV, though written correctly by the scribe of R, has become in the hands of a corrector, who erased one x, quattuor milia CCCXXXVI. And in XXIII, 37, 11, signa militaria ad XXXXI cepit P, became, in the hands of the scribe, XXXI, though a corrector has since emended to XLI.

One would expect to find the same confusion in the case of VIII for 9, but of this I have found no examples.

Manuals on textual emendation have little to say on the subject of the numerals, and the illustrations which they give deal for the most part with corruptions caused by the confusions of the numeral signs with letters of the alphabet, the numeral thereby becoming part of a word. Of this variety of error I have found but two examples:

XXVIII, 36, 9 paulo minus CCC ui|ui capti P. Here the word *uiui* is divided in P by the end of a page, — one half being at the bottom of one page, the other at the top of the next. In consequence, Landemarus supposed that the first *ui* was part of the numeral, and wrote CCCVI ui capti.

XXII, 37, 5 uictoriam auream pondo ducentum ac uiginti is the reading of Luchs. P has uictoriam auream p. cc ac xx. For this the scribe in R wrote uictoriam auream picca cxx. This absurdity is now emended in R to \bar{p} . cccxx. The *a* of *ac* is thus omitted and the *c* is added to the numeral, thereby increasing the weight by 100 pounds.

From the paucity of examples, it would seem that this was not a class of error to which the scribes of R were prone, and the actual corruption due to this cause is slight when compared with the other classes already indicated. The same may be said of the errors arising from the two uses of the horizontal stroke which was drawn above the numerals, sometimes to indicate thousands, and sometimes simply to indicate a numeral. I have found no errors from this cause in R, for the reason that where the horizontal stroke was already in P it was usually reproduced in R, or if omitted, omitted intelligently.

To make the list of numeral corruptions complete, I shall give one more. In XXVIII, 38, 8, P reads ludi romani *biduum* instaurati. Here the scribe Landemarus wrote ludi romani *x duū* instaurati. His reason for writing *x duū* is difficult to see. He may have thought that *-duum* meant 2 in combination with a preceding number, and then guessed that the first part meant 10.

It will be seen from the above examples that the great majority of the numeral corruptions involve the larger numbers. Of a total of 32 examples, there are 15 in which *x* is written for ∞ . If we include the five examples in which *mille* was written for *M.*, the abbreviation for *Marcus*, — which, however, as they occur in the work of but two scribes, must not be regarded as a common species of error, — we have 20 examples, or nearly two-thirds of the total number, involving thousands. Adding the examples of the omission of **↵**, we have a total of 25 cases of numeral corruptions involving errors of 500 or more. The total number of numeral corruptions due to all other causes amounts to but 7. The smallest class is that to which books on textual criticism give the most attention.

The havoc made with the numerals in this one process of transcription goes to show how little reliance can be placed upon the accuracy of the numerals in the texts of classical Latin writers which are based only on manuscripts of the ninth century or later. The chief cause of error in R is the scribes' lack of familiarity with the signs of notation in vogue in the fifth and sixth centuries. The monastery of Tours was surely no exception in this respect, and it is safe to assume the same ignorance of the older notation for the majority of the scribes in western Europe in the early ninth century. It is therefore probable that errors of the same nature continued to be made until experience had given the scribes more familiarity with the notation of the older time. Most of the errors in R passed through the hands of a corrector, in which process some of them were corrected, and others augmented. But that such supervision was not extended to all the manuscripts of the period is shown by the occurrence of similar errors in the *Bambergensis*, an eleventh-century descendant of P. In the few chapters at the end of the decade, in which the readings of the *Bambergensis* appear in the critical apparatus, there are 4 cases in which x is written for ∞ , and 2 cases of the omission of \propto .¹ The presence of these corruptions in this manuscript of the eleventh century helps to confirm the impression that manuscripts of the ninth century and later, however trustworthy in other respects, are not to be depended upon in their record of numbers unless that record is corroborated from some independent source.

IX. ERRORS DUE TO ABBREVIATIONS

Nothing shows more clearly the ignorance of the scribes of R, and their lack of familiarity with the Latin of the classical period, than the absurd blunders made in copying the abbrevia-

¹ See *Transactions* of the American Philological Association, vol. XXXIII, pp. 53, 54, where I have treated of the errors in the *Bambergensis* in more detail.

tions which occur in the *Puteanus*. These contractions, as is usual in uncial manuscripts, are comparatively few and simple. The more common of them are: *b.* for *bus* in the ending of the dative and ablative plural; *q.* for *que* the enclitic; \bar{e} for *est*; a stroke over the vowel for *m* or *n*; the use of initials in proper names (praenomina) and in such words as *senatus consultum*, *res publica*, *populus Romanus*; and contractions of two or more letters, such as \overline{pr} for *praetor*, \overline{cos} for *consul*. It was, of course, natural that the scribes should not know what was meant by the contractions *s. c.*, *p. r.*, and \overline{pr} , the first time they were encountered, but it was always possible to avoid error by writing the contractions as they were in P. They were not obliged to expand them and write the word in full.¹ But they often did not choose to adopt this safer course, and have expanded $\overline{p.}$ (= Publius) into *prae*, although *Scipio* is the next word, $\overline{p. r.}$ and \overline{pr} into *per*, \overline{cn} into *con*, without any regard for sense or construction, in passages where a minimum of understanding of the text they were copying, even if it did not suggest the word represented by the contraction, would have warned them against expanding this in such a way as to make nonsense.

It is evident from these blunders that most of the scribes of R had never before been engaged in copying the prose text of a pagan Latin writer. Otherwise they would have been more familiar with such common contractions as those for proper names at least. Their previous work, to judge from these errors, had been confined entirely to the copying of the church books, and being now set to work for the first time upon the text of one of the older Latin prose writers, they confused the abbreviations with which they were familiar with the contractions which occur in the text of Livy. Errors of the same nature must have been common in all the work of the early ninth century until the scribes became familiar with the abbreviations in the works of the older Latin writers.

¹ The scribe Landemarus, after having made all sorts of errors by wrongly expanding these signs of contraction, finally avoided further blunders by making in his copy uncial facsimiles of the abbreviations in P.

(1) The simplest form of this species of error among the scribes of R was the failure to recognize that a given letter or group of letters was an abbreviation. In consequence the contraction, if it consisted of a single letter, was attached either to the word which preceded it, or to that which followed; or, if it consisted of several letters, part of them were attached to the preceding word, and part to the next. This form of error was encouraged by the lack of word-division in P. The contractions were not separated from the surrounding letters except occasionally by a dot to the right, and not distinguished from them except by a horizontal stroke above the letter, while both of these indications were sometimes wanting.

Examples of attaching the abbreviation to the preceding word (this is most common with the letter *m*): XXII, 14, 9 si hoc modo peragrandā *cacumina saltusque m. furius* recipere a gallis urbem uoluisset P, *cacumina saltus quem furius* R. — XXVI, 28, 13 qui in exercitu *m. claudii, m̄. ualerii, q. fului* fuissent P, qui in exercitum claudii *m̄. ualeriique* fului fuissent R. — XXVII, 38, 11 auxilia . . . a *p. scipione m. liui* missa P, auxilia *apud scipionem (sic) liui* missa R. Here, in addition to writing *m* with the preceding word, a *p.* is taken for *apud*. — XXVII, 38, 11 mixtos numidas hispanosque *m. lucretium* has copias nauibus aduexisse P, hispanos *quem lucretium* R. — XXVIII, 13, 2 et eidem *gallia m. pomponio* mathoni sicilia P, *galliam* pomponio R. — XXVIII, 20, 8 si *m. pomponius* P, *sim pomponius* R. — XXVIII, 37, 8 in qua *m. liui* nomen erat P, in quam liui nomen erat R. — XXVIII, 7, 2 et ipse a *messana l. scipione* fratre in praesidio ibi relicto P, a *messanal scipione* R. — XXVIII, 13, 2 sicilia ti claudio P, *siciliati* claudio R. — XXVIII, 27, 15 sederunt in tribunali *p. scipionis* P, sederunt in tribunali *p. scipionis* R. — XXVI, 32, 1 principe eius sententiae *t. manlio torquato* P, principe eius sententia *et manlio torquato* R. — XXV, 40, 3 dedicata a *m. marcello* templa P, dedicata *am marcello* templa R. In M this has become a *marcello*. — XXVI, 26, 8 dilectum prope a *m. cornelius* P, dilectum prope *am cornelius* R. In these two cases a Latin word has

not been formed by attaching the abbreviation to part of the preceding word. Sometimes slight emendation was resorted to, as in XXIII, 20, 7 *haec a q. fuluio intra paucos dies gesta* P, *haec atque fabio*, etc. R, and in XXIII, 8, 17 *aliquem in civitate r.* (= Romana) *meliozem* bello haberi quam te P, *civitatem meliozem* R. Here the *r* after *civitate* was not understood, and consequently the scribe altered to *civitatem*.

Examples of attaching the abbreviation to the following word (not so common): XXIII, 38, 11 *l. apustio legato* P, *lapustio legato* R. — XXVI, 28, 3 *t. otacilius* P, *totacilius*¹ R. — XXVI, 33, 5 *dein cum m. atilium* P, *dein cum matilium* R.

Examples of the breaking up of two or more letters serving as an abbreviation: XXVIII, 5, 5 *satis scire sp. lucretium* P, *satis scires p. lucretium* R. — XXVI, 5, 8 *ita inter se copias partiti sunt: ap. claudius campanis*, *fuluius annibali est oppositus* P, *a p. claudius campanis* R. The scribe of M, perceiving that *a* was not a preposition, emended the passage and wrote *ea p. claudius*. — XXIII, 18, 9 *additumque . . . censoriae notae triste s. c.* (= senatus consultum) P, *additumque . . . censoriae notaettristes c̄* R.

(2) Many abbreviations did not admit of being attached to the adjoining words, and the scribe, not knowing what to do with the letter or letters which he did not understand, left them out altogether. These omissions are particularly common in cases where the preceding word happened to end with the same letter as the abbreviation, the scribe regarding the repetition of the letter as a dittography. They are, however, of frequent occurrence even when this is not the case.

Examples of the omission of abbreviations (the abbreviation omitted in R is given in italics in the reading of P): XXVIII, 37, 10 *item m. liuius* P, *item liuius* R. — XXV, 18, 4 *sed in bello nihil tam leue est quod non . . . momentum faciat. t. quinctio* *crispino badius campanus hospes erat* P. The scribe of R, regarding the two *t*'s as a dittography, has written *faciat quinctio*. — XXIII, 48, 2 *ne . . . sumptui . . . essent. et t.*

¹ This error in the case of the name T. Otacilius occurs quite frequently.

gracchus iussit P, essent et gracchus R. — XXIII, 19, 4 securae res ab hannibale essent, *ti.* gracchum proconsulem a beneuento accitutum P, essent gracchum (omitting *ti.*) R. — XXVII, 40, 2 ut eodem tempore utrubique res \bar{p} . (= publica) prospere gereretur P, res prospere (omitting \bar{p} .) R. All the above examples of omission are due to supposed dittography, but in the following cases there is no such reason for the omission : XXVIII, 12, 9 cum *p.* sempronio P, cum sempronio R. — XXVI, 39, 3 praeerat classis commeatibusque *d.* quintius P, commeatibusq; quintius R. — XXV, 14, 7 qui sociis captorum concederent decus, *t.* pedanius princeps . . . P, decus pedanius R. — XXVII, 40, 4 multa secunda in italia siciliaque gesta quassata rem \bar{p} . (= publicam) excepissee P, quas satarem excepissee R. — XXVI, 30, 12 pro uobis *p. c.* bella gerimus P, pro uobis *c.* bella gerimus was first written in R. — XXIII, 7, 8 incerto rerum statu *atp.* claudius P. Here *atp.* is a corruption of *app.* The scribe in R, Fredeğ, has written *statuat claudius*, omitting *p.*

(3) In the examples given in the two preceding classes, the error is due to the failure of the scribe to recognize contractions as such; but the largest class of errors, and the one which best illustrates the illiteracy and stupidity of the scribes of R, consists of the cases where the scribes recognized that there was an abbreviation, but expanded it wrongly. Though they had always the alternative of writing the abbreviation as it was in P in cases where they were in doubt, yet they have often chosen to expand the contractions in ways so absurd as to seem almost incredible.

(a) *per* wrongly written for $\bar{p}.$ $\bar{r}.$ (= *populus Romanus*) and $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= *praetor*).¹

¹ This species of error is confined to the portion copied by Theodegrimmus. This scribe subsequently went over his work, and corrected all the mistakes given in the following list, except the first, by erasing the *e*, and drawing a line over *pr*; thus $\bar{p}\bar{r}$. This is the contraction for *praetor*, but the contractions for *praetor* and *populus Romanus* are often not distinguished even in P. In giving the contractions in the examples, I have inferred from Luchs's silence that the normal contraction was used in each case, namely $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ for *praetor*, and $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ for *populus Romanus*.

XXVI, 28, 11 l quinctio $\bar{p}r$ (= praetori) ad optinendam sici-
liam P, quinctio *per* adobtinendam R. — XXVI, 28, 12 totidem
legiones in sardiniam p. manlio uulsoni $\bar{p}r$ (= praetori) decre-
tae P, uulsoni *per* decretae R. — XXVI, 30, 1 multa de hieronis
regis fide perpetua erga $\bar{p}r$ (= populum Romanum) uerba fece-
runt P, erga *per* uerba R. — XXVI, 30, 6 quo scilicet iustiore
de causa vetustissimos socios $\bar{p}r$ (= populi Romani) trucidar-
et P, socios *per* trucidaret R. — XXVI, 30, 7 bellum cum $\bar{p}r$
(= populo Romano) gessissent P, cum *per* gessissent R. —
XXVI, 31, 1 non adeo maiestatis, inquit, $\bar{p}r$ (= populi Romani)
imperique huius oblitus sum P, inquit *per* oblitus sum R.

(b) *Prae* wrongly written for \bar{p} . (= Publius or publica).
This is a form of error confined to the work of Theogrimmus
and Landemarus, who were accustomed only to the regular
ninth-century usage of writing \bar{p} for *prae*. XXV, 41, 8 itaque
senatus romae decrevit, ut \bar{p} . cornelius $\bar{p}r$ (= praetor) litteras
capuam ad consules mitteret P, ut *prae* cornelius *populus roma-*
nus litteras . . . R. — XXV, 41, 11 et \bar{p} . sulphicium serg. f. P,
et *prae* sulphicium serg. f. R. This is copied into M as follows :
et pre sulphicium ser. g. f. — XXVI, 1, 1 de re \bar{p} . (= publica)
. . . consuluerunt P, de re *prae* . . . consuluerunt R. — XXVI,
1, 2 $\bar{a}p$. (= Appio) claudio P, a *prae* claudio R. — XXVIII,
9, 11 ad \bar{p} scipionem profectos P, ad *prae* scipionem R. —
XXVIII, 10, 1 cum \bar{p} . licinio cos. litterae romam allatae P,
prae licinio cos. R. — XXVIII, 10, 2 exercitum . . . dimitti
e re \bar{p} . (= publica) esse P, exercitum . . . dimitte re *prae* esse R.
— XXVIII, 10, 3 ut e re \bar{p} . fideque sua daret P, ute re *prae* fide
quae suadaret R. — XXVIII, 10, 7 \bar{p} . scipionis P, *prae* scipio-
nis R. — XXVIII, 11, 10 consules facti m. cornelius cethegus,
 \bar{p} . sempronius tuditanus apsens P, *prae* sempronius R.¹

(c) *populus* wrongly written for \bar{p} . where the contraction
stood for *Publius*, *publica*, etc. Errors of this nature occur

¹ The examples from Books XXV and XXVI are all from Theogrimmus, while
those from Book XXVIII are from Landemarus. In both cases these errors
cover about two pages. They were probably noticed by the supervisor of the
scriptorium, who prevented the further recurrence of the error.

in the quaternions signed by Theogrimm̃. and Theodegrim̃. Inasmuch as these scribes were responsible for some of the errors given in the two foregoing lists, (a) and (b), it is probable that they were told by the monk who supervised their work that \bar{p} . sometimes stood for *populus*, and as a result of being thus cautioned they went to the extreme of writing *populus* for that contraction regardless of the sense.

Examples: XXVI, 36, 8 ut uoluntaria conlatio et certamen adiuuandae rei *p*. (= publicae) excitet . . . P, certamen adiuuande rei *populus* excitet R. — XXVII, 4, 10 et alexandream ad *p*. tolomaeum (*sic*) et cleopatram reges . . . P, ad *populum* tolomaeum R. — XXVI, 1, 5 m. iunio netruria, *p*. sempronio in gallia . . . prorogatum est imperium P, netruria *populus* sempronio in gallia R. — XXVI, 2, 4 adscribi autem pro $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (error for $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ = praetori) l. marcio P, adscribi autem pro *populus* l. marcio R.

(d) $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= praetor) wrongly expanded as *populus Romanus*.

This error is confined to the work of the scribe Theogrimmus. The abbreviations $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ and $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ are sometimes confused in P; but the scribe was not obliged to expand the contractions, and the absurdity of writing *populus Romanus* in the following passages would have struck him at once if he had had any understanding of the meaning of what he was copying. XXVI, 21, 17 m. cornelius $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= praetor) . . . militum animos sedauit P, m. cornelius *populus romanus* . . . militum animos sedauit R. — XXV, 41, 8 ut *p*. cornelius $\bar{p}\bar{r}$. (= praetor) litteras . . . mitteret P, ut *prae* cornelius *populus romanus* litteras . . . mitteret R. This absurd error has passed over into M, where, in an attempt to make sense out of the passage, the scribe has emended it as follows: ut *prae* cornelius *populusq. romanus* . . .

(e) Another mistake sometimes made by the scribes Theogrimmus and Theodegrimmus is that of expanding the abbreviation $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= *populus Romanus*) in the nominative case, regardless of its relations to prepositions or verbs. This species of error well illustrates the purely mechanical character of the work of these two scribes. They had evidently

been informed, by the person in charge of the scriptorium, that $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ stood for *populus Romanus*, and they were satisfied to expand it as such without questioning whether or not it was the proper case.

XXVI, 21, 11 et quingena iugera agri, . . . qui aut regius aut hostium \bar{p} . \bar{r} . (= populi Romani) fuisset P, aut hostium *populus romanus* R. — XXVI, 21, 12 ex is (= iis) qui a $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= populo Romano) defecissent P, exis quia *populus romanus* defecissent R. — XXVI, 27, 11 quoad eo animo esse erga $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= populum Romanum) sciret P, erga *populus romanus* R. Here a corrector, in order to have the accusative case after the preposition, has written *erga populos romanos*. — XXVI, 36, 4 itaque classes habere atque ornare uolumus $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= populum Romanum) P, ornare uolumus *populus romanus* R. The error is perpetuated in M.

(f) The writing of *mille* and *milia* for \bar{m} . (= Marcus). For a full list of these confusions, see Chapter on the Numerals (VIII).

(g) *que*, the enclitic, or *quae* wrongly written for q. (= Quintus). Examples of this confusion are too numerous to be given in full, occurring, as they do, on almost every page of the manuscript and particularly in the portions copied by Aldo and Fredeğ. The confusion is not uncommon in P.

XXII, 8, 6 dictatorem *populus creauit q. fabium maximum* P; creauit *quae fabium* was first written in R. — XXII, 35, 2 c. atilio serrano et q. alio (aelio *Luchs*) paeto P, et *quae alio paeto* R. — XXII, 38, 13 et quod id constantius perseueraret q. fabius maximus sic . . . adlocutus fertur P, perseueraret*que* fabius R. — XXIII, 40, 1 postquam q. mucius $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ graui morbo est implicitus P, postquam *que* mutius R. — XXIII, 7, 12 tum q. fabius . . . tali oratione est usus P, tum *que* fabius R. — XXIII, 9, 5 ut q. fuluio . . . urbana prouincia esset P, ut *que* fuluio R. — XXVI, 33, 9 securique percussos a q. fuluio . . . P, securique percussos *aque* fuluio R. — XXVI, 33, 5 et q. minucium et l. ueturium philonem, item . . . P, at*que* minutium et l. ueturium philo nemitem R. Here the scribe has altered what he supposed was *etque* to *atque*.

(h) The following is a list of miscellaneous errors of less common occurrence than the foregoing:

The writing of *cōn* for *cñ* in XXVI, 28, 9 *cñ. fuluio consuli* P, *cōn fuluio consuli* R. This is copied into M as *cō fuluio*.

The confusion of *cōs* and *quos*: XXVI, 33, 13 *fuluio procōs quosque . . .* P, *fuluio pro quosque* R, the scribe regarding the *cōs* and *quos* as an apparent dittography.—XXVIII, 22, 5 *quo die illum omnes centuriae priorem cōs dixissent* P, *priorem quos dixissent* R.

apud for *a p.*: XXVII, 38, 11 *auxilia ex hispania quoque a p. scipione m. livio missa* P, *apud scipionem liuiomissa* R.

me for *m̄*: XXIII, 39, 8 *inde m̄ marcellum* P, *inde me* was first written by the scribe in R.

(4) Thus far the examples have been confined to cases where a word was abbreviated by the use of the initial letter or letters. Errors arising from contractions within a word or at the end are confined to the sign $\bar{}$, representing the nasals *m* and *n*, and the contraction *b.* for the ending *-bus* of the dative and ablative plural.

(a) From the sign $\bar{}$ there spring two forms of error: (1) the omission of the nasal altogether, due to failure to notice the sign, and (2) the writing of *m* for *n*, or *vice versa*, in expanding the contraction. Examples of these two forms of error are exceedingly common, and I shall give only a few, without references: *e.g. in africa* for *in africā*, *reliquo* for *reliquō* (= *reliquom*), *imultos* for *imultos* (= *in multos*), *couehi* for *cōuehi*, *comeatibus* for *cōmeatibus*, etc.

(b) Examples of error arising from the contraction *b.* = *bus* are: XXVI, 40, 18 *hos neque relinquare . . . in insula . . . uelut materiam nouamdis reb. satis tutum ratus est* P, *nouam disrepsatis tutum* R. Here the scribe failed to recognize *b.* as an abbreviation, and wrote *disrepsatis* for phonetic reasons of his own.—XXVI, 26, 2 *sita Anticyra est in Locride laeua parte sinum Corinthiacum intranti. breue terra iter eo . . . Luchs*; P has this, in substance, with the exception of *locide* for *Locride*,

and *corynthiacum* for Corinthiacum. In R it is written as follows: sita est in locide laeua parte sinum corynthia cum *intransibus reveterra* iter eo. The scribe supposed that the *b* of *breue* was the abbreviation for *-bus*. This passage is, in turn, copied into M as follows: sita est in locidelaewa parthesinum corynthia cum *intransib; reue terra*, etc.

X. ERRORS DUE TO CORRECTIONS IN THE *PUTEANUS*

Three series of corrections had already been made in the *Puteanus* before¹ the copying of R: (1) the scribe of the fifth century who copied it corrected many of the errors which he himself had made, and occasionally attempted to emend the text; (2) a subsequent corrector went systematically through the manuscript making numerous corrections for the most part of a superficial nature; and (3) it was corrected by a second corrector, whose corrections, however, were not nearly so numerous as those made by the scribe or the first corrector, and are confined to parts of the manuscript only. These three sets of corrections are designated by Luchs as P¹, P², P³, respectively. In all three the manner of making the correction is the same. Where it is the purpose of the corrector to strike out a letter or letters, erasure is not resorted to, but a fine line is drawn diagonally through the letter, and a little dot is sometimes placed above it in addition (thus, ' /). Corrections of this nature are made in such a way as to be as inconspicuous as possible, and not disfigure the manuscript, so that one has sometimes to look twice to see them. Where it was desired to insert letters, or substitute them in the place of those which had been stricken out, they were

¹ The corrections in P, designated by Luchs as P⁴ and P⁵, which were made after its copy R had been completed, do not concern the purpose of the present paper. The numerous corrections made in P by means of erasure are also later than the copying of R, for the reason that the letters erased in P are there to be found fully written. Occasionally Luchs has been in doubt as to what was originally written in P where letters have been erased. In most of these cases the erased letters can easily be established by consulting R.

written above the word and were likewise made small and inconspicuous.

These corrections were not drawn from any manuscript authority,¹ but were simply superficial alterations which suggested themselves to the scribes or the two correctors. They are therefore not at all trustworthy, and not unfrequently passages were thus altered which were perfectly correct. Naturally the existence in P of these corrections, upon which so little reliance could be placed, greatly increased the difficulties of the scribes of R. They were constantly confronted with the necessity of choosing between the original reading of the manuscript and the correction, or of adopting a compromise when both were manifestly wrong. Inasmuch as Alcuin had been influential in shaping the methods of the School of Tours at the beginning of this revival under Charlemagne, and had insisted upon accuracy in the copying of the church books, one would expect to find that here also the scribes had been furnished with some principle upon which to decide between the two readings, and to find them adhering strictly to the original readings or to the corrections, or departing from the one method or the other upon some critical principle. But one looks in vain for evidence that they followed any definite instructions, or that they made use of any critical faculty in deciding between readings. The scribes follow the one reading or the other almost at random, often giving the reading of P¹ when it is manifestly wrong, or of P² when the original reading is manifestly right,² and often the correction passed unnoticed entirely. Their treatment of corrections is throughout in keeping with the character of the rest of their work.

Frequently, by reason of oversight or failure to understand the purpose of the correction, the scribes have written neither the original reading of P nor the correction, but a corruption

¹ See Luchs, Introduction to his edition.

² The treatment of the corrections in P by the scribes of R has been discussed by Wölfflin in an article in the *Philologus*, XXXIII, 1863, pp. 186-189.

which sometimes contains elements from both the original reading and the correction, and sometimes omits elements from both. Corruptions of this nature form a large class and are the more serious, because, if the *Puteanus* had been lost, many of them would have offered little clue toward emendation. I have attempted to classify them as follows:

(1) The scribes were often mistaken with regard to the extent of a correction in P by reason of the fact that the lines and dots, by which the deletion of letters was indicated, were usually made as light as possible, in order that the manuscript might not be unnecessarily disfigured. The eye was consequently sometimes deceived into believing that the corrections were more extensive than they really were.

Examples: XXVII, 40, 2, P¹ wrote *deos urbit* eodem tempore. Subsequently he corrected *urbit* to *ut* by placing dots over the three letters to be omitted (thus, *urbit*). It was easy enough for Ansoaldus to overlook the fact that the correction did not extend to the whole word, and consequently he wrote *deos eodem tempore*, omitting the word altogether.—XXVIII, 20, 10 *consultum sine alto sine alterius* P¹; the words *sine alto* are deleted by P². R has *consultum nealterius*, the scribe imagining that the correction extended farther than it really did.—XXIII, 19, 13 *adicitumque* P¹, *radicumque* P², *radiq*; R.—XXVIII, 35, 3 *proanimos* changed to *primos* by P¹, *imos* R.—XXIII, 21, 7 *creatique caecilius* P¹, *creati q. caecilius* P², *creati caecilius* R (omitting *q*).—XXIII, 21, 7 *et quam fabius* P¹, *et q. fabius* P², *et fabius* R.—XXVIII, 12, 4 *uincinculo* P¹, *uicinculo* P², *unculo* R.—XXVI, 38, 10 *liberius fingenti sitia ita inde* P¹; *sitia* was altered to *sit* by P². R has *fingentis ita*, the scribe imagining the correction to extend to the *it* as well as the *ia*.—XXIII, 42, 5 *usideatur* corrected to *uideatur* P¹, *udeatur* R.

In the above examples the scribes imagined that the lines or dots used in deletion extended to more letters than was actually the case. Sometimes the opposite error is made, and some of the deleted letters find their way into the text. *E.g.*:

XXIII, 46, 13 obsequitastaset P¹, obequitasset P², obequitasaset R. — XXVIII, 24, 2 scipionis amquam P¹, scipio tamquam P², scipioni tamquam R.

(2) Corrections in P which involved the alteration of a single letter were made by drawing a line through the letter to be changed and writing the corrected form above it. In the case of such corrections the eye of the copyists of R has often caught the letter added above the line, but not the sign of deletion drawn through the letter immediately below, and in consequence both the error and the correction have been embodied in the text of R.

Examples: XXII, 25, 7 edenti casilini P¹, sedenti casulini P², sedenti casuilini R. — XXII, 33, 2 uicisti P¹, uicinti P², uicinsti R. — XXIII, 48, 6 quin et ue|ra P¹, qui nec ue|ra P², quinctuera R. — XXVII, 6, 7 tarsumennum P¹, trasumennum P², tarasumennum R. — XXVII, 21, 10 tatis P¹, satis P², statis R. — XXVII, 26, 13 iocur P¹, iecur P²; *ieocur* was first written in R. — XXVII, 33, 3 ramam P¹, famam P², flamam R. The scribe altered *r* to *l* apparently as an improvement in spelling. — XXVIII, 10, 5 etrisorum P¹, etrusorum P², etruisorum R. — XXVIII, 16, 6 dua fugae P¹, dux fugae P², dux afugae R. — XXVIII, 18, 2 *dirimā|darum* corrected to *dirimē|darum* P¹, *dirimē|darum* P², *dirimaedarum* R. — XXVIII, 28, 7 conpuges P¹, coniuges P², conipuges R.

(3) Corruptions arising from mistaking the purpose of corrections placed above the line, and inserting letters in the wrong place in the text. Examples: XXVII, 40, 8 proditumst P¹, proditum est P² (the correction being made thus: |st), proditum *sed* R. The scribe imagined that the word was *set*, and altered the spelling to *sed*. — XXVI, 39, 3 teterum P¹, ceterum P², tecterum R¹. This is now corrected to *ceterum*. — XXVIII, 10, 4 etturiā P¹, ettruriā P², etturriam R. — XXVIII, 4, 8 etimularet P¹, estimularet P² (probably meant, however, for stimulet). Here Landemarus wrote in R *et imularet*, which a corrector having P before him has altered to *et simularet*. — XXIII, 8, 13 experti t. otacilie musus (*sumus* after correc-

tion) P¹, experti t. te acili ope sumus P², experti t. laecilio pesumus R¹ (*l* in *laecilio* arises from confusion of letters). This is now corrected to *expertī t. laecili ope sumus*. — XXVII, 49, 4 ne superstes tanto P¹, ne superesset tanto P². The correction was made thus: super|^{e s t}stes. A fine stroke was drawn through the *t* and the last *s*. R has *superest*.

(4) Sometimes the scribes have omitted both the correction and the letters to be corrected: XXVIII, 24, 5 non ultra esse cunctandum *apt* P¹, non ultra esse cunctandum *ait* P²; here R has omitted both *i* and *p*, and written *at*. — XXVIII, 34, 9 seuehensis P¹, seuientis P², seuentis R. — XXIII, 3, 3 quae P¹, quai P³, qua R. (For other examples see Chapter on Omission.)

(5) The scribe Fredeġ, instead of omitting both the difficulty and the correction, adopted the plan of leaving a blank where he did not understand the purpose of a correction. These blanks were filled in by the corrector. *E.g.* XXIII, 3, 15 attipeū P¹, at it ipsut cū P². Here, after an erasure, Fredeġ wrote *adidip*, leaving a blank for the space of several letters, in which the corrector wrote *sud*. — XXIII, 42, 2 his parum fide eamus P¹, his parum fidebamus P². Fredeġ wrote his parum amus, leaving a blank in which the corrector wrote *fideb*.

— XXIII, 39, 8 super besuniam P¹, super besuuium P²; *superbe* was written by Fredeġ, who left a blank in which *suuium* was written by the corrector. These blanks have all been filled in by the corrector, but it is conceivable that, in other manuscripts of the period, blanks were left which were not filled in by subsequent correctors, thus giving rise to a lacuna.

Similar caution was shown in a few cases where the scribes made a facsimile of both the original word and the correction as they stood in P. Examples of this are unfortunately rare. — XXV, 16, 7 cam P¹, clam P², ¹cam R. — XXV, 20, 5 ducas P¹, ⁱducis P², ducas R.

[To be concluded.]

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